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**CULTURAL RELATIONS BETWEEN
INDIA AND JAVA**

Calcutta University Readership Lectures, 1935

CULTURAL RELATIONS BETWEEN INDIA AND JAVA

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PREFACE

The following survey of the cultural relations between India and Java is the abstract of a course of two lectures I had the privilege of delivering before the Calcutta University on January 20th and 22nd, 1936. The text of the lectures, which derived their main interest from the lantern-slides, had to be shortened to a great extent in order to be published without illustrations.

BATAVIA,
December 16, 1936

A. J. BERNET ~~KEMPERS~~

CULTURAL RELATIONS BETWEEN INDIA AND JAVA

Some fifteen years ago Professor Alfred Foucher delivered a series of lectures before the University of Calcutta on the influence of Indian Art on Cambodia and Java. In his introduction he expressed the hope that by doing this he would induce his audience to pay more attention to the spread of Indian culture outside the sphere of India proper. Much has changed since then. Now-a-days no sensible man would entertain the idea of reproaching the Indian scholars with lack of interest in this fascinating problem. Professor Foucher's hope has been fulfilled in a measure not dreamt of before. I need but remind you of the work of the Greater India Society. It is a matter of gratification that Java and Sumatra have also come in for a share of the newly awakened interest.

One would perhaps be apt to ask whether lecturing on these problems might not be compared to bringing coals to Newcastle. The difficulties attending the study of ancient Javanese history and culture, however, are great. It involves the necessity of reading Dutch, French and German publications, not to speak of the old-Javanese and Sanskrit records. So the group of Indian scholars well

acquainted with Indo-Javanese problems must needs be small and select. I need not assure you that their support is greatly appreciated by all students of Indonesian culture. But I am convinced that they will think themselves sufficiently recompensed for their exertions by their results. Ancient Java as a matter of fact provides us many supplementary data concerning the history of Indian iconographical types, religious customs, etc., and furthermore shows us the Indians as navigators and colonists. But there is more and of greater importance. It makes us acquainted with a beautiful aspect of human culture which, though highly influenced by foreign civilizations, has developed a typical character of its own. Ancient Javanese culture indeed must be appreciated and studied for its own sake. Now it is remarkable that there is perhaps no better way to understand this individual character and vitality than carefully searching for and analyzing extraneous influences. This is only natural since these qualities are to be explained by the way in which the foreign elements have been absorbed and formed into a new entity with a development of its own.

The fact that the Indian elements in Java have awakened so much interest of late years must not lead you to the conclusion that their presence has been discovered only now. They are much too numerous as well as important to have remained unnoticed for a long time. One need not even be an Indianist to be struck by the affinity of Indian and Javanese images, words, etc. One of the first authors who refer to it is the Governor-General

Van Imhoff, who visited the antiquities of Prambanan in Central Java nearly two centuries ago, in 1746. Among other things he saw a metal image of Durgā which induced him to say “ that the Javanese formerly must have belonged to the sect of the Bramminese among the heathens.” The Javanese chronicles, he adds, contain a confirmation of this supposition, though in his eyes they must be regarded as rather unreliable sources. We need not wonder that the English officers who in the beginning of the 19th century after a time of service in India were transferred to Java also paid attention to the similarity of the monuments of both countries. In the meantime the relation between India and Java had been studied in other respects also. Sir William Jones, Marsden and many others drew attention to the occurrence of Sanskrit words in Indonesian languages. The proofs of Hindu influence grew more and more varied and numerous, till Wilhelm von Humboldt wrote, in his large work “ Ueber die Kawi-Sprache,” published after his death in 1836, the following words : “ If one wanted to sum up everything which in Javanese religious and historical legends, administration, literature and theatre reminds us of Indian languages, legend, poetry and religion, one would be compelled to draw a complete picture of Java and its inhabitants, for everything without exception exhibits this north-western influence.” I should not like to subscribe to this opinion in all regards, for Javanese culture does not consist only of Indian elements and the question, consequently, is much more complicated. But it certainly is true that the

problem is one which is connected with every aspect of this civilization. It is self-evident that a complete discussion of the relations between India and Java would take much more time than we have at our disposal, to say nothing of all other difficulties. We must, therefore, confine ourselves to a general survey of the question. In doing which, we shall pay special attention to Hindu-Javanese art.

No fact has been of more consequence in both ancient and modern history of the Indian Archipelago than its situation with regard to the outer world and its wealth in valuable articles. The Archipelago is intersected by two great routes which cross each other at right angles. One of them links up the continent of South-east Asia and the islands of the Pacific. It was followed by the tribes which in pre-historic times spread from Further India over the seas. The other route is the connecting link between two oceans, between East and West.

The other point, *viz.*, the Archipelago's wealth in products, is as much or even more important than, the first-named. In former centuries nothing but spices drew the Portuguese, the English and the Dutch to Indonesia. The aim of the earliest voyages of the Hindus was most certainly also that of obtaining spices, rare kinds of wood, minerals, precious stones and metals. Through the medium of the Indian sailors who fetched them from the distant islands and brought them to the ports of Southern India, the Indonesian spices also reached the markets of the Roman Empire. Thanks to the

stray notes of both Western and Indian sources we know that in the first centuries A.D. the Hindus visited the Archipelago.

In order to avoid any possible misunderstanding I must warn you that I use the name Hindu as an indication of the Indians in general and not of the adherents of a certain religion. Presumably they went along the coast to Kedah on the Malay Peninsula. In course of time they also visited Sumatra, Java and other islands, the geographical status of which no doubt was only vaguely known. During the first period of commercial relations between India and the Archipelago no colonization of the islands seems to have been attempted. Only some centuries later we for the first time find definite statements on this point, thanks to some data from Chinese sources and especially to the inscriptions which have been found in various places in South-eastern Asia: in Champa, the Malay Peninsula, Borneo and Western Java. Let me only call your attention to the fact that they are composed in Sanskrit and written in the South-Indian Pallava characters. This circumstance as well as the contents of the records show that there were settlements of Hindus in Borneo and Western Java—not to speak of the other regions where the inscriptions have been found—in the beginning and in the middle of the 5th century A.D. respectively. Obviously the merchants who traded with Indonesia had founded settlements, which in the course of time developed into kingdoms. We need not, however, fix our thoughts exclusively on merchants and the like. There is no

reason to exclude other types of settlers: exiles, from political as well as religious motives, Brahmans, adventurers, etc., who went to the Archipelago when it was no longer *terra incognita* in consequence of the trade carried on with it.

The fact that Brahmans have come to Indonesia has puzzled many historians as we know from the sacred texts that Hindus are not allowed to travel by sea. But "men are always caught by historians in the very act of belying their principles by their actions."

It is not possible to fix the size of this influx of colonists, but the number of immigrants need not have been very large. Otherwise the influence on the indigenous speeches would have been more marked. Presumably, however, their numbers were regularly reinforced by new-comers. In regions where no new invasions took place, *e.g.*, in Borneo, the Indian part of the population was too small to maintain itself, it merged into the mass of the indigenous population and was unable to exert a lasting cultural influence.

The inscriptions also indicate that the Hindus who lived in Indonesia in the 5th century originally came from the eastern parts of South India. Both the Pallava script and the names of kings ending in *varman* are used there, as well as in Further India and Indonesia.

The Chinese notes referring to these early days of the Indian colonization give us some idea of the nature of the settlements. This society does not seem to have consisted of two different strata, *viz.*, Indian rulers and an indigenous Indonesian

populace, but on the contrary, was an entity containing elements from both spheres. We must, therefore, conclude that *if* at any time there was a period of purely Hindu rule on Java, this must have been before the 5th century. As regards the origin of this mixed society—which for convenience we may call Indo-Javanese or Hindu-Javanese, though neither of these terms is correct in all regards,—the supposition is upon the surface that the Indians married the daughters of the soil. We must however, keep in mind, that we *know* nothing about this earliest evolution, though we may develop theories which may appear more or less plausible. Anyhow, it appears from the few data at our disposal that we must not make things too simple by reckoning with only one possibility.

The scope of this lecture does not permit me to trace the course of Hindu-Javanese history in detail, but its principal outline must of course be given. After the 5th century there suddenly is again a large gap, which in the one country extended over a longer period than in the other. Borneo for the time being passes out of sight till it reappears many centuries later as a dependency of the Eastern Javanese empire of Majapahit. The gap in the history of Sumatra and Java does not extend over a long time, but much has changed during the dark period. Other kingdoms have come into being: in Sumatra Malayu (Jambi) and later Srīvijaya, the centre of which was Palembang, if we neglect recent theories concerning the site of this kingdom. After the two centuries which had passed in Java the Indo-Javanese rule is no longer

centred in Western, but in Central Java. It is not definitely established whether this 7th century kingdom is the continuation of that of the Pallava-inscriptions or of a contemporaneous Central-Javanese Hindu state. It is, moreover, more than possible that a new influx of Hindus, probably not in large numbers, but in any case eminently civilized people, enriched the Hindu-Javanese society during this period. Besides this immigration mutual intercourse, especially in consequence of the travels of pilgrims, promoted the influence of Indian ideas and art on Java and Sumatra.

Central Java remained the focus of Hindu-Javanese culture until in the beginning of the 10th century the power was transferred to the eastern parts of the island where the kingdoms of Kadiri, Singasari and Majapahit flourished and decayed. Its last asylum in the present day is the island of Bali.

We now return to the point where our actual knowledge of Hindu-Javanese culture—however scanty at first—begins: the beginning of the Central-Javanese period, *i.e.*, the 7th century or rather the 8th century, for the earliest monuments preserved date back to that time. Many centuries after the first arrival of Indians on the shores of Java, we for the first time come into contact with the products of the civilization called into existence by their coming.

These earliest monuments are the small shrines on the lonely plateau of Dieng, some 6,500 ft. above the sea. Now-a-days there are not more than

8 temples, more or less intact. But formerly there must have been a great number of them, a holy city dedicated to the worship of Siva. The simplicity of the architecture and the sober ornamentation strike us as differing from the Indian buildings of the same time. The walls are not covered from bottom to top with decorative sculptures and figures, but the ornamentation is subordinate to the architecture. The mode of construction is more or less clumsy. We may conclude from the simple and, from a technical point of view, somewhat primitive character of the Dieng temples that they do not represent a simple offshoot of Indian architecture, an Indian school of this craft transferred from the Asiatic mainland to Java. There are many affinities to be sure; the composition of the monuments corresponds to the precepts of the *śilpaśāstras*, the decorative designs, such as the *kīrtimukha* above the door or the window motifs enclosing heads in high relief in the roof. But so far it has proved impossible to indicate a particular school of art either in India proper or in Further India which corresponds to the Dieng temples or to some other buildings in Java or Sumatra to such a degree that it might righteously be regarded as the immediate prototype of the latter. Purely Hindu temples are not to be found anywhere in the Archipelago and we must therefore presume—as we must do with regard to ancient Javanese culture in general—that if real Hindu art ever existed on Indonesian soil it must have belonged to a far earlier period and have disappeared without leaving any traces, in consequence

of its having been made of wood and other perishable materials.

One of the earliest monuments is Chandi Kalasan, founded in the year 778 and dedicated to the cult of the Buddhist goddess Tārā. It was built not much later than the Dieng temples, but its decoration is much more refined. You will notice the beautiful *kīrtimukha* above the door, combined with the *makara*-heads at both sides of the door-posts, and the spiral lines accentuating the height of the walls. The outward appearance of the temple of later years has much changed, as in 1928 the 'Archaeological Survey of Netherlands India has undertaken the restoration of the rather dilapidated buildings. We now proceed to the great Buddhist temple complex of Chandi Sevu dating from the 9th century. The large central temple contains a principal cella with a porch and three side-chapels, mutually connected by a passage leading round the building. It is surrounded by 250 small temples, arranged in four series. The principal tower is an imposing ruin. The side-chapels as well as the central cella must have contained the statues of many deities, presumably made of bronze. The statue in the central cella must have had enormous dimensions. It must have been a seated Buddha, about 12 feet high.

The niches in the chapels of Chandi Sevu are now deprived of their statuary. But the fine decorations are still worthy of notice. It always is something to feast one's eyes upon the Hindu-Javanese ornaments and those lovely carved walls,

and the wonderful *makara*-heads on the lower part of the door-posts form good specimens of them.

One of the subsidiary shrines was restored by the Archaeological Survey in the year 1928. The reconstruction was not based on the fantastic visions of a modern architect, but it was executed by carefully piecing together the carved stones strewn the surrounding field. The next temple to be discussed is Chandi Mendut which has been partly restored, the roof not having been finished. From an architectural point of view the impression received is not absolutely satisfying, but all the same the temple remains one of the loveliest gems of Central-Javanese art. We begin at the staircase, the sides of which are embellished with a beautiful *makara* and reliefs representing *jātaka*-scenes. In the panel in the lower corner at the left, for instance, one easily recognizes the well-known tale of the tortoise which was carried through the air by a couple of geese. But it could not keep itself from abusing the people below. It opened its mouth and thus let go the stick on which it was hanging. You see the sad ending; the peasants are killing it after its fall.

The pious visitor by degrees was prepared for the contemplation of the holy figures in the interior of the shrine by adorants pictured in the reliefs of the basement, amidst graceful branches and tendrils. The walls of the temple itself contain the figures of Bodhisattvas and goddesses.

The temple enshrines three images which are no less imposing : Sākyamuni in the act of preach-

ing his first sermon, flanked by the Bodhisattvas Vajrapāni and Avalokiteśvara.

We now come to the greatest and rightly most renowned monument of Java, the *stūpa* of Barabudur built in the second half of the 8th century. The building consists of nine terraces, six of which are square and copiously ornamented, the remaining three being circular and devoid of all decoration with the exception of 72 small *stūpas* surrounding the central dagob. The latter is larger than the others, but it cannot be said to dominate the whole structure. The undermost terrace is much more extensive than those above it. Some forty years ago it was partly removed, and it then turned out that there was another wall behind the one we see now. The terrace, therefore, originally was much smaller than it is now. One of the reasons seems to be that the foundations of the monument gave way during the work. The base therefore had to be covered and reinforced. It seems possible, however to give also a symbolical meaning to the covering of the original base. It would take far too much of our time to survey the theories concerning the structure and the nature of the monument in general, which have been discussed more often and by more people than any other Eastern edifice. Let me only tell you that some scholars explain the shape of Barabudur as a peculiarly Javanese development of the *stūpa*; according to others it was planned to be a kind of terraced pyramid like those of Further India, whilst M. Paul Mus of the Ecole Française in a recent study upholds the view that it is a realisation in stone of the esoteric

cosmologies of Ancient Asia. According to these the sky is a vault covering the world, which is considered as a mountain, the pyramidal tiers of which sustain the divers orders of creatures. In accordance with these ideas Barabudur is made out to possess the ground-plan of a pyramid and the silhouette of a cupola. It is, therefore, a pyramid contained in a *stūpa*.

We shall now take a view of some characteristic aspects of the building : in the first place the south-east corner which clearly shows the heavy stone masses and the shadows thrown by the jutting corners crossing the dominating horizontal lines of the terraces. Next a view of the staircases : the undermost is decorated with *makaras* and lions, those of the other square terraces being covered by *kālā-makara-toranas*. The small *chaityas* crowning the gateways and the niches produce the typical silhouette of Barabudur. You notice the niches containing images of the Dhyāni-Buddhas, the gargoyles, the antefixes and the long series of reliefs. There are altogether some 1,500 panels. Time prevents me from giving more than the names of the texts represented : the Karmavibhaṅga, the life of the Buddha according to the Lalitavistara, the Avadānas and Jātakas, the Jātakamālā and the Gandavyūha. A few specimens may show you the fine composition and the serenity breathed by the art of Barabudur. The same applies to the figures of the Dhyāni-Buddhas, which more or less resemble the productions of the Gupta school in the Indian mainland. They are found not only in the niches, but are also to be seen through the openings

in the walls of the dagobs on the undecorated upper platforms.

I can only discuss one more Central-Javanese building, or rather group of buildings, indeed one of the very last erected in this part of the island, about the year 900. It is the Śivaitic complex of Lara Jonggrang, often also called Chandi Prambanan. It may be regarded as the Śivaitic counterpart of Chandi Sevu. There are six main temples, dedicated to Śiva, Viṣṇu, Brahmā and their respective Vāhanas. More than 200 minor shrines arranged in three series surround them. The difference between the calmness of the reliefs of Barabudur and the vigorous movement of those of Lara Jonggrang is very striking.

A survey of Hindu-Javanese culture in this period, often called "classic," would be complete only if it extended to the other factors of culture, such as literature and religion. Now we are greatly handicapped in studying these subjects by the deplorable fact that practically no written documents are known from this period, with the exception of a number of inscriptions and a Sanskrit-Javanese dictionary, the Candakarana. It has been suggested that the old-Javanese Rāmāyana was composed in Central Java, but this has not been conclusively proved. With regard to the literature of ancient Central Java we must, therefore, observe silence. Our knowledge of its religion would be much more complete if texts had been preserved, but as this is not the case, we are forced to draw conclusions from the inscriptions, the monu-

ments and the iconographical features of the statues, clay-seals, and the like.

Buddhism and Sivaism are found side by side. Buddhism is international by nature and there was constant intercourse between the different parts of the Buddhist world in consequence of the pilgrimages to the sacred sites in India. Owing to its international tendencies it offered little room for local influences, and so the creed of its Central Javanese adherents did not differ on the whole, from that of their Indian co-religionists. Sivaism on the contrary was the belief of the common people. It was, consequently, more prone to be subjected to local changes. The formulas of curses in the inscriptions show a mixture of Indian and Indonesian popular beliefs. The predilection for particular Sivaitic deities and their arrangements in the niches of some temples also show the influence of purely Indonesian ideas. With regard to the old-Javanese language we must make a few remarks which also bear upon the Eastern Javanese period. As we saw from a passage in Von Humboldt's "*Kawi-Sprache*," it has been influenced by India, but only in so far as it has derived many words from Sanskrit. Grammar and syntax, however, are absolutely different from those of the Indo-Aryan languages; they are purely Indonesian. It is a curious fact that the old-Javanese vocabulary has been enriched by a literary language like Sanskrit, whereas it contains hardly one word derived from the vernaculars which must have actually been spoken by the Hindus who have come to Java. Both the entirely Indonesian structure of

old-Javanese and the absence of vernacular words can be accounted for only by the hypothesis that the people, whose language was old-Javanese, were not of purely Indian origin. It is, however, equally impossible to regard them as having come from a purely Javanese stock. The Indian elements in their culture are too numerous by far and form so much an inseparable component of it that it is impossible to explain them by the use of the catch-phrase "influence." Ancient Javanese culture can only have developed as a living, organic entity in a society formed by a Hindu-Javanese people, that is to say, a people that had come into being by the fusion of Hindus and Indonesians. The historical foundations of this fusion have already shortly been indicated, though the exact manner in which it eventually took place can only be guessed. In my opinion there is no reason to make a principal difference between Indian and Indo-Javanese culture while regarding the former as the original and the latter as a mixed culture. We need but remember that Indian culture itself also grew and developed by the fusion of several civilizations of an entirely different character, from the times of Mohenjo-daro, the Aryans or the Graeco-Buddhists till to-day. Can we, indeed, imagine any culture which has not come into being by amalgamation otherwise than one which is entirely devoid of life and progress? Instead of awarding the monopoly of originality to the one culture, while withholding it to the other, which mainly differs from it by being separated from it by the Indian Ocean—

instead of this it would be, I think, much more correct to regard the various periods of the culture of India proper, as well as those of Central Asia, China, Further India, Indonesia, and so on, in which the Indian elements more or less prevailed as components of equal value forming one indivisible whole. There would be no objection to denoting this greater entity by the term "Greater India" if this name adequately expressed the dynamic character of this cultural entity, for it is impossible to draw precise boundary-lines, both in time and space, between Indian and un-Indian elements in India proper and beyond its geographical borders.

As I have set forth elsewhere I should personally prefer a more dynamic conception, such as (in Dutch) "cultuurstroom," a "stream of culture," which unconfined by time and space, gradually came into being—many centuries ago—as a result of the mingling of certain elements, which continuously absorbed elements of other cultures both in India proper and elsewhere in Asia and consequently incessantly changed and developed into new forms of—let us use this expression for the sake of convenience—"Greater Indian" culture. The last developments of this "Greater Indian stream of culture" in the different countries can as little be indicated by mentioning a definite year or locality as its starting-point. In some countries it has not yet come to an end. In others, however, the Indian elements have in the course of time gradually fallen into the background and have been replaced by elements derived from either the indigenous culture or

from newly introduced civilizations. This also applies to Indonesia. Gradually a new phase in the Greater Indian stream, which we call Hindu-Javanese culture, came into being by the amalgamation of Indian and indigenous elements. At first the former prevailed to a great extent, especially during the Central-Javanese period, as we shall see presently, but afterwards the indigenous elements gradually gained ground as the indigenous element in the population from which this culture originated came to the forefront. This process took place in Eastern Java and Bali. In the last-named island it is still going on, while also in Java, even after the coming of Islam the stream of "Greater Indian" culture has not been entirely cut off.

Before tracing the later development of Hindu-Javanese art, let us first return to the ancient buildings of Central Java. I told you already that they are constructed in accordance with the precepts of the *śilpaśāstras*. Their influence likewise can be observed in Central-Javanese sculpture.

It may be useful to bear in mind that these rules were not alien to ancient Javanese culture. The Hindu-Javanese craftsman had not so much learnt them from handbooks, as inherited them from the Indian side of his ancestry. It is only natural that if a Hindu-Javanese created his own art, this art must have been in accordance with this originally Indian tradition which formed an essential part of his own culture.

India exercised a more or less important influence upon the further evolution of ancient

Javanese art, both in its early and in the later periods, not only by inherited traditions but also by the direct influence of various Indian schools of art.

A curious mixture of various Indian influences is to be found in a Buddha statuette, which I have analyzed in the following manner:—The composition in general recalls that of the seated Buddhas of the Pāla period. The same applies to the complicated base of the throne and the *vyālaka* mounted on the elephant. The kneeling figure which is missing in Pāla art is part of a *vyālaka* motif from Sārnāth belonging to the Gupta period. The wheel between the two deer is a well-known Indian symbol, its parallel is taken from a clay-seal of the Pāla period. The lion mounted on an elephant once again belongs to Pāla art. The central figure seems almost copied from Ajanta.

So we find nothing but purely Indian motifs and elements, and this can also be said of Central-Javanese art in general. I need but remind you of the monuments which we examined before. In Central Java we find the common types of temples, built in keeping with the Sāstric prescripts, *vilāras*, a *stūpa*—the Barabudur—the composition of which can be explained from Indian conceptions. With regard to the statues of gods and goddesses, both Buddhist and Sivaitic, there is no figure which is not likewise known either from actual Indian sculpture or from the sacred texts. The same remarks apply to the decorative designs. There are some motifs which are more especially favoured than they are in India, but all of them are to be

found in India proper. A highly remarkable fact is the absence of any influence of the local flora and fauna. On the contrary, the lion, which does not occur in Java, was used very often for decorative purposes.

The name Hindu-Javanese indicates that there is a mixture of Indian and Javanese elements. One would therefore think that the presence of the latter would have made itself as distinctly felt as that of the Indian elements. This does not, however, apply to Central Java, for it is not possible to pick out peculiar details or motifs which can be called exclusively Javanese in origin.

All the same there can be no difference of opinion concerning the fact that these statues, buildings and decorations have a peculiar character of their own. They are absolutely different from similar artistic products in India and can never be mistaken for the latter. What then is the peculiarity of Central-Javanese art?

In the case which we have analyzed just now, it is the manner in which the artist has combined the Indian elements. In other cases it is some alteration he has introduced, especially in consequence of his anxiety to omit everything which might disconcert the sacred sentiments of the devotee. It is of more consequence with regard to the inner worth of Central Javanese art that, while following the Sāstric prescripts, the architect has erected monuments which may be regarded as the most splendid and elaborate specimens of their type. It may be possible, for instance, to collect the materials necessary for the interpretation of

Barabudur from Indian texts, but we cannot overlook the fact that a similar edifice was never built in India proper.

The Central-Javanese artist moreover possessed the gift of lavishing a wealth of detail on the building or object he was decorating while preserving a perfect harmony. Here, for instance, is a fine example of a bronze bell. Similar bells are found in India, Nepal, Tibet, Ceylon and in Further India, the idea itself is therefore not an original invention of Hindu-Javanese art, but you will find that nowhere else could the artist have given to his bell this wealth of fine decoration and at the same time accomplished this rare harmony in the whole.

Let me at this point summarize my conclusions with regard to Central-Javanese art. It contains elements of two different civilizations. On the one hand, there is the Indian element, on the other the Indonesian or Javanese,—both directly inherited by the Hindu-Javanese from their own ancestors, who were partly Indians, and partly Indonesians. The artist inherited from the Indian element of his forefathers a tradition which to a great extent fixed the subject-matter and the outer form of his products. And as he, moreover, in the course of time borrowed various elements from different schools of Indian art, Central-Javanese art shows ample signs of Indian influence. The undeniably peculiar character of this art is not due to the mere addition of Indonesian components, but to the fact that the elements partly inherited, and partly imported at a later date from India, have

been combined, changed and above all, imbued with impressive splendour and perfect harmony in the wealth of its details.

We must now take leave of Central Java and examine the further development of Hindu-Javanese art which took place in *Eastern Java*.

From an archaeological point of view very little is known concerning the first centuries of this Eastern Javanese period. I here show you the portrait-statue of Erlangga, dating from the early 11th century. The king is represented as Vishnu mounted on Garuda. This is an instance of the erection of statues of gods and goddesses with the features of a deceased ruler. The consecration of images of this type and all festivities connected with it have been proved to be ceremonies of a completely Indonesian type. In India proper, as a matter of fact, there has never been found any statue of a deceased king represented with the features of a god. So you notice that the Indonesian elements now make themselves felt. The same applies to the monument we must examine now, Chandi Jago, the Buddhist mausoleum of king Vishnuvardhana of Singasari who died in the year 1268. The shape of the building differs very much from that of the Central-Javanese monuments on account of the elongation of the basement to the front.

The effect produced doubtlessly resembles that of the ancient Indonesian terraced monuments, like the Lebak Sibedug, a sort of pyramid consisting of five steps, the undermost being elongated to the front. There is a *menhir* on this front-

terrace. It looks very much like a *līṅga*. The transition of a *menhir*-pyramid of this kind to a *līṅga*-sanctuary, indeed, is easily understood and has actually taken place in the Argapura-monument, which was erected during the last phase of Hindu-Javanese art. Chandi Jago is no *līṅga*-monument, but the relation between this terraced building and the pre-Hinduistic Indonesian structures is evident.

The walls of the basement of Chandi Jago, the terraces and the shrine itself are decorated with animal tales and scenes from the Kuṇḍarakarna, the Pārthayajña and the Arjunavivāha, and finally the Kṛṣṇāyana. The texts of the reliefs therefore are Indian, but look at the reliefs themselves! The figures are curiously awkward and angular, their shape is exactly that of the modern wayang-figures, the principal personages are accompanied by their attendants, which we also find in the wayang. We can but be astonished when after having examined these reliefs we next see the statues which once stood in the interior of the same temple. It is well-nigh impossible to imagine two kinds of sculpture which have fewer features in common than the reliefs and the images of Chandi Jago.

The principal figure was an eight-armed Avalokitesvara. It was flanked by Syamatara, Bhṛkūti Sudhana Kumāra and Hayagrīva : *Indian* gods executed in a fashion which resembles that of *Indian* statues quite as much as Central-Javanese sculptures if not more. There can be

little doubt that these statues were made under the direct influence of India.

The temple having been finished some replicas in bronze were made of the group in question. A long time ago Dr. Brandes has noticed the similarity of these replicas with a Tibetan drawing. Now such an agreement between Tibet or Nepal and Java means that both countries have been influenced by one and the same region in India, that is to say, by the Pāla Empire. The fragment of a sculpture from Nālandā seems to be the missing link. The central figure is broken off, but the remaining figures leave no room for doubt. The influence of Pāla art found in Eastern Javanese sculpture can perhaps be accounted for by the arrival of Buddhist monks in the Archipelago after the destruction of their monasteries by the Moslems.

You here see Chandi Singasari, likewise built in the later 13th century. The temple itself exactly as Jago deviates in its details from the rules of the *Śāstras*, but its statuary on closer inspection appears to show Pāla influence. The well-known Durgā of Singasari for instance, exhibits certain Pāla features in her dress, her pose with the legs wide apart being altogether alien to Javanese women.

There remains the question whether this and other statues of this time have been made by a Pāla artist or by a Hindu-Javanese craftsman. The Durgā in question, I think, is the work of an indigenous sculptor. There is a sphere of tranquillity about this figure, though the goddess is depicted in

a heavy struggle with a demon, which points to an Indo-Javanese sculptor. Furthermore there are some important details. In rendering the garment the surface of the stone has been entirely converted into a sculptured pattern. The features are those of a Javanese woman. The shape of the eyes is also very instructive. Look at the manner in which they have been modelled and compare this with that of a Pāla statue. The Pāla sculptor has proceeded almost like a draughtsman. The eye-brows, the eye-balls and the pupils have been marked by sharp lines, and the same applies to the pattern of the garment. The surface of the stone has remained smooth, the pattern is shown by means of engraved figures. It is clear that the style of the Pāla-sculptor differs absolutely from that of the sculptor of the Durgā from Singasari. The latter obviously was a Hindu-Javanese sculptor who had come under the influence of Pāla art. He was no craftsman of inferior ability, but he looked on India as the Holy Land of Buddhists where the sculptors knew better than anybody else how to make statues of the deities according to sacred tradition. He, therefore, tried to make the images which he produced as similar to those of India as possible. He could, however, not altogether belie his own nature and style.

There is a striking difference between the admirably arranged ground-plan of the Central-Javanese temple complexes and that of an Eastern Javanese compound like that of Panataran. At first sight the buildings seem to be simply huddled together without order. This impression, how-

ever, would be wrong. Balinese visitors are able to explain the meaning of various buildings by means of their own sacred traditions. The ground-plan of the temples in Bali must indeed be regarded as evolved from that of the Eastern Javanese complexes which were apparently just like the Balinese temple compounds arranged according to the exigencies of the cult. This cult was no longer that of Central Java, but a system of ceremonies which in many respects differed from it and in which the Indonesian element prevailed.

When viewing the monuments themselves we again receive this impression of confusion. In this case it seems to be justified. There are large and small shrines, terraces and ring-walls which seem to be built according to the personal taste of the respective architects who worked without having a general scheme in common. The history of Chandi Panataran indeed extends from the end of the 12th to the middle of the 15th century.

The lack of unity and harmony in the general composition, whether it be accounted for by the religious ceremonies or not, as well as the excessive and unsuitable application of ornament, which no longer is subordinate to the architecture, certainly are the principal drawbacks of Eastern Javanese art. In this respect the prevalence of Indonesian elements represents, to modern eyes, a marked decline.

The style of the reliefs which picture Rāmāyaṇa scenes forms a striking contrast to that of the Rāmāyaṇa series of Lara Jonggrang. Just as at Jago the figures closely resemble wayang

figures; the mountains, trees and other parts of the surroundings have been completely transformed into curls.

The outline of old-Javanese literature shows the same tendency as the arts. Its beginnings are characterized by a marked ambition to read and imitate the Sanskrit literary works of India. I have already mentioned the Central-Javanese dictionary *Candakarana* which was intended as an expedient for lovers of Hindu books. Some time afterwards, about the year 1000, a summary of the *Mahābhārata* was compiled in Eastern Java. More important from a literary point of view are the old-Javanese *kāvyas* of kakawins, like the *Rāmāyaṇa*, *Bhāratayuddha*, *Arjunavivāha* or *Smara-dahana*, which are not simply translations of the Indian originals but poetical works with a character of their own. We need not dwell on the local peculiarities which both the outer form and the contents of those works exhibit in a higher or lesser degree. A much more important and interesting change has taken place in the further development of Javanese literature, especially with regard to the Javanese theatre. Up to the present day the repertoire of the wayang theatre consists of plays which deal with the adventures of heroes and heroines from either the ancient Indian epics or Javanese historical tradition and literature. Viewed superficially the subject-matter of many of these plays, in which Rāma or the Pāndavas and Kauravas play the leading part seems to have remained exempt from local influence. But on closer inspection it has been proved—by the Dutch ethno-

logist Dr. Rassers—that all of them, as well as certain old Javanese literary works, are composed according to one and the same scheme. It appears that all of them, each in its own manner, tell one and the same story, an old Indonesian myth. It is a kind of cosmogony which relates the life of the divine ancestors of the mythical tribe: their birth, youth and marriage. Their adventures are manifold and culminate in the ritual initiation preceding their union. The Indian epics lent themselves admirably to illustrate this very old myth. The Mahābhārata and the Rāmāyaṇa plays, performed by the wayang, are, therefore, Indonesian myths pressed into an Indian form. The combination of these two elements came into being during the Eastern Javanese period. It consequently is a part of Hindu-Javanese culture. The original myth which forms the background and indeed the quintessence of the plays has sprung from Indonesian society, as appears furthermore from many details both in the plays themselves and in the way in which they are performed. These details can only be accounted for by means of the rites and social organizations of Indonesian peoples. The wayang, or rather its older forms, belongs to the sphere of the club-house in which on special occasions the lives of the ancestors were represented before an audience consisting only of men and boys. During the wayang-performances which developed from these ritual plays, the women indeed originally sat in such a manner as to make it impossible for them to see the puppets. The screen on which the shadows of the puppets are projected seems to have

been alien to the performances in the club-house. Presumably it was imported from India. The creation of a shadow-play representing the ancestral myth is therefore, just as its subject, a product of the Hindu-Javanese period.

There is indeed a certain relation between club-houses and the wayang. Let me show you for instance a *kayon* or *gunungan* which is used for the purpose of telling the audience that the play or a new scene is to begin. In other words it introduces the auditors into the sphere of the play or scene. Now it is very curious that the shape and the decoration of this object very much resemble the front-part of a club-house in the neighbourhood of the Queen Augusta River in New Guinea. In both cases you notice the door or gateway in the centre and the *kāla*-head above it; the flowers and leaves which cover the background of the *kayon* remind us of the fact that the club-house has to be built in the forest or in the mountains. The word *gunungan* indeed means "mountains," while *kayon* means forest. Finally the outline of the *kayon* resembles the silhouette of the house.

It is interesting to notice another affinity of the *kayon*. The gateway on the *kayon* is flanked by large feathers. We find the same wings also at the sides of the gateway of an Eastern Javanese temple. We need but remember that the walls of Eastern Javanese sanctuaries are covered with reliefs the figures of which closely resemble wayang-figures, and we conclude that there must be a close connection between those temples, the wayang, ritual feasts and the constructional details of the

club-house. These few instances will serve to demonstrate the slow infiltration of Indonesian elements during the Eastern Javanese period.

Let us now take a rapid survey of some of the later products of Hindu-Javanese art. We must not look for them only in Eastern Java. There is for instance the complex of terraces of Sukuḥ in Central Java dating from the middle of the 15th century. They show not even the slightest resemblance to Indian art. There is no cella but only a large gateway with a staircase leading to the terrace on the top of the walls. In the neighbourhood some *lingas* and statues of Vishnu, Durgā and other Hinduistic deities have been found. Stucco-heads and figures were excavated in Madjakerta, the site of the ancient capital of Majapahit, the last centre of Hindu-Javanese culture. Small, but very gracefully made.

I can only shortly indicate the two courses which Hindu-Javanese culture finally took. In the first place that to the culture of Bali. You see here an interesting relief from Majapahit, showing a bird's-eye view of the part of a town, walls and an open gateway. You will recognize this same type of building in the so-called *tjandi bentar* of Bali which are still built by the modern Balinese architects.

The other course which Hindu-Javanese culture took is represented by modern Java. One of the first buildings of Islam is the minaret of Kudus. It is interesting to notice that this Muhammadan tower actually is nothing but a Hindu-Javanese temple. The Javanese Muslim

who started building the monuments necessary for his new creed, fashioned them according to his personal taste and style which so far we have called Hindu-Javanese. Indian and Indonesian elements can at that time no longer be disconnected, they form an inseparable whole which to a certain extent has survived in Java up to the present day.

The coming of Islam meant the disappearance of Hindu-Javanese rule in Java, but the Javanese theatre with its dance and music, the language and literature, in short the whole culture of the civilized Javanese of our days—though he is a Muhammadan—bears witness to the everlasting fructifying influence of Indian thought.

